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INTERACT – RESEARCHING THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS' INTEGRATION AS A THREE-WAY PROCESS - IMMIGRANTS, COUNTRIES OF EMIGRATION AND COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION AS ACTORS OF INTEGRATION

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Linguistic Practices in Migration

Models of Integration, Language Policies and the Establishment of a Social Hierarchy of Languages

Alexandra Filhon

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Linguistic Practices in Migration

Models of integration, language policies and the establishment of a social hierarchy of languages

Alexandra Filhon
University lecturer in sociology, University of Rennes 2, Researcher at UMR ESO and associate researcher at INED

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European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

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INTERACT - Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration

Around 25 million persons born in a third country (TCNs) are currently living in the European Union (EU), representing 5% of its total population. Integrating immigrants, i.e. allowing them to participate in the host society at the same level as natives, is an active, not a passive, process that involves two parties, the host society and the immigrants, working together to build a cohesive society.

Policy-making on integration is commonly regarded as primarily a matter of concern for the receiving state, with general disregard for the role of the sending state. However, migrants belong to two places: first, where they come and second, where they now live. While integration takes place in the latter, migrants maintain a variety of links with the former. New means of communication facilitating contact between migrants and their homes, globalisation bringing greater cultural diversity to host countries, and nation-building in source countries seeing expatriate nationals as a strategic resource have all transformed the way migrants interact with their home country.

INTERACT project looks at the ways governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, including the media, make transnational bonds a reality, and have developed tools that operate economically (to boost financial transfers and investments); culturally (to maintain or revive cultural heritage); politically (to expand the constituency); legally (to support their rights).

INTERACT project explores several important questions: To what extent do policies pursued by EU member states to integrate immigrants, and policies pursued by governments and non-state actors in origin countries regarding expatriates, complement or contradict each other? What effective contribution do they make to the successful integration of migrants and what obstacles do they put in their way?

A considerable amount of high-quality research on the integration of migrants has been produced in the EU. Building on existing research to investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the host country remains to be done.

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For more information:
INTERACT
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)
Convento
Via delle Fontanelle 19
50014 San Domenico di Fiesole
Italy
Tel: +39 055 46 85 817
Fax: + 39 055 46 85 770
Email: migration@eui.eu

Summary

The purpose of this article is to focus on the actions and the players of emigration countries that do or that do not support the maintenance of migrants' native languages in Europe. For this, the links need to be discovered that exist between European languages and languages of origin. First, all languages are not important. A social hierarchy exists, which depends on the context of speaking. Multilingualism was gradually developed in the twentieth century, but bilingualisms are not always considered as a resource. Bilingualism related to immigration is often synonymous, in fact, with integration deficit, which justifies a certain essentialisation of the language. However, language learning depends partly on its social value in the host country and the country of origin. This social recognition rests, for example, on whether we are speaking of an oral or written language; a religious language, an international language, etc. This article aims at understanding the European and national language policies set up to support the mobility of individuals and their entry into new territories.

Key Words: language - bilingualism - linguistic policies - immigration.

The traditional model of integration demands ethnocentric universalism where the behaviour of the migrants is perceived as "lacking" (Sayad, 1999). Admittedly, migrants do not renounce cultural memberships relating to their country of origin. But nor do they live on the margin of the society, locked up in an imagined culture. Although it is little used at the scientific level, the concept of integration is often related to political ideologies, which mask the complexity of social interaction. Cultural unity is, above all, a political ambition. This idea, according to which there would exist a dominant model in Europe and which would prevail over all others, is the result of a form of "cultural imperialism" (Hajjat, 2005). Linguistic imperialism (Philipson, 1992) in particular refers to the propagation of a language, like English or French, in the old colonised countries. But it also refers, more recently, to European countries where this language (English mainly) became obligatory within an academic framework.

Our objective here is, thus, to question the upholding of migrant languages in a context other than that of the departure country. The "native or first languages" of people with international mobility will be distinguished from the languages known as "European". The first relates to the dialects in which individuals were socialised before their migration, while the second refers to official languages of the destination countries.

In fact, the migrants fit in several social and cultural universes to which they refer, belong and project themselves. Their country of birth and their native languages constitutes their "reference group" (expression introduced by Hyman) i.e., this learning resulting from childhood, this primary socialisation, partly relate to how social reality is perceived. The host country represents the "participation group" (Bastide, 1970) and this maintenance of several cultural universes is not necessarily a source of conflict. The duality becomes more apparent when the individuals adapt to a cultural universe, but are, then, excluded from it socially. The migrants, therefore, do not live between two cultures, but in two cultural universes simultaneously. They manage their belonging taking into consideration the country of origin and arrival, according to their degree of participation in the various social spheres, and taking into account in particular the pressures and constraints that weigh on them. For this reason, the maintenance of one or more languages other than the language of the host country does not mean disapproval towards the host country. Just as the passing on of cultural baggage to the next generation continues a bond with the country of origin, so does the retention of language.

To focus on the acculturation of migrants in the home country and the place made for their native language, it is advisable to take into account the integration model supported there. Three principal types prevail: assimilation, multiculturalism and communitarianism (issues relating to minorities and ethnic communities within societies). Reality is largely multicultural in most big cities of Europe. But this cultural diversity is often denied and it is frequently forgotten that integration is more than the incorporation of migrants into a nation, which would be fossilised, static and which would not benefit from these migratory currents. Integration, in these terms, is a process that is not unilateral but which runs backwards and forwards in a double direction[1]. Speaking of an integrated society is not limited to measuring the inclusion of a group in the whole of society by forcing this collective to merge into the mould. It is by adopting this way of thinking that many European institutions transformed the "right" to integration into an "obligation", a "will" to be integrated.

Thus, by questioning the linguistic abilities of migrants and by looking at how those are likely to influence their process of integration in the receiving society, we will not adopt a linear point of view. Our task is rather that of understanding the comings and goings between native languages and European languages learned by people born outside the European Union. The main objective is to apprehend the players and actions resulting from the country of origin supporting or not supporting the integration of these migrants outside their country of birth. What is the place of the language of the

[1] "As ECRI has repeatedly stated, integration is a two way process, based on mutual recognition, which bears no relation to assimilation", part 15, Annual Report 2010. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (Council of Europe) www.coe.int/ECRI.

immigration country in the country of origin? What representations and what functions are allotted to this language in the country of birth and to native language in the host country? In what contexts are these languages practiced? How can these native languages be socially more developed?

The main difficulty of our subject matter is related to the great diversity of possible configurations because of the plurality of the countries of origin and the countries of arrival. This is also, however, because of the scope of the languages used in a given situation. Thus, we do not claim to present all possible situations exhaustively but rather we present some typical situations.

1. Rare demo-linguistic data

National quantitative data mentioning the languages spoken by individuals are often rare and when they exist they are censored because they are considered to be too politically sensitive. In Belgium for example, the census data on this question have been prohibited since 1961 in order not to avoid tensions between linguistic communities. Besides this political dimension, it is difficult to describe the linguistic landscape of each country because measurements are sensitive. Indeed, it is advisable to be able to define contours of a language, something which is not easy. For example let's take Arabic. Is Moroccan Arabic the same as Algerian or Egyptian Arabic? Does one distinguish the native language spoken in a family from that written and taught at the school? In countries where linguistic data exist (Switzerland, the UK, Austria, etc.) they relate either to languages spoken at home or to written languages or even sometimes to official languages, which complicates the possible comparisons thereafter. In Austria, a question on usual, vernacular languages is posed in the census. But there still, the answers are difficult to get to grips with because it is not known if these languages of daily uses are those of the family or of the work place.

Data is thus seldom available, and when it is, it provides only a vague focus. In France, for example, in 1999 a national survey was conducted parallel to the population census. It revealed nearly 400 different linguistic varieties in the metropolis (Héran, Filhon, Deprez; 2002).

In addition to this quantitative information, the results presented in the present article result primarily from sociolinguistic work, which is based on: discussions with institutional players (teachers, institution heads, administrative staff); parents and children; ethnographic observations (of classes for example); and even official texts for language policies. We also employed national and international reports sent to the Council of Europe in particular and to the European Parliament. We, finally, referred to some legal texts, circulars in particular, from the national and European level.

Thus, this text is mainly based on secondary data. In addition, a case study resulting from a research by discussions which I carried out in France at the beginning of the years 2000 with Arabic-speaking and Berber speaking migrants will be presented in the final section. Within the framework of this project, about forty biographical discussions were made for the purpose of recalling migratory paths of parents and their children from Algeria, from Morocco and from Tunisia. The migrants were studied as dynamic players, who were neither carriers of a "culture of origin" or "transplanted", as in a new society; but rather individuals with varied experiences: varied experiences, that is, in terms of linguistic socialisation in Arabic or Berber and their study or otherwise of French at school (according in particular to sex, place of life, generation, etc).

2. World linguistic landscape: mono-lingualism vs multi-lingualism

There are 6,000 to 7,000 languages in the world, all continuously evolving, changing; some disappearing, and others being born. These languages are unequally distributed since most of them are used by a very small portion of the population, whereas some other languages are spoken by majority very great number of individuals. It is the case of Mandarin, English, Spanish or Arabic and Hindi, which are true international languages. This hegemony of some languages leads to a hierarchy structure between all linguistic varieties according to the number of speakers, but, by no means restricted to it.

Other criteria also intervene and contribute to the value of each language, one of the criteria being, for example, the context, i.e., the place of enunciation. It is important to admit here at the beginning that languages are by no means equal socially.

In Europe and more particularly in Western Europe, mono-lingualism has been preached since the seventeenth century. There has been the idea that the use of a common language is the only means to arouse national feeling and so very often the nation works with a single language. As a whole, in almost all the countries of Europe, State mono-lingualism reigns with only one language, a national language supplanting all others. It is in this geopolitical space that the monolingual ideal is developed and "tends to associate a same territory, only one politico-administrative organisation and a single language. The French State is the concretisation of this ideal of nation State" (Boyer, 2010: 71). One could recently observe the rapid setting up of state monolingualism in the ex-Yugoslavia.

Mono-lingualism is far from being the rule, since several thousand languages exist in the world sometimes, as in Cameroon, with hundreds of varieties on the same territory. In Europe, there is less diversity: it is estimated that this continent includes only 3% of world languages. Nearly a third of the 6,000 spoken languages are in Africa and nearly a third in Asia whereas more than 15% of all languages are located in America and Oceania (Juaristi, Reagan and Tonkin, 2008).

Regional languages and immigration languages have, however, long been present in Europe. In the last years the *European Charter of the regional or minority languages* has been set up. This Charter aims at institutional recognition for these languages historically present on various territories. Admittedly, the national identity in most countries of Europe is conveyed by the legitimate language which is associated with it. The indivisibility of the nation is, thus, expressed by a single strong socially-developed language. For, of course, mono-lingualism does not mean that only a single language is spoken on the territory of a given State.

3. Pluri-lingualism, a socially marked practice

Social Hierarchy structure of languages

To understand the evolution of of migrant languages in Europe, to know whether their maintenance supports integration and to identify the main players, it is advisable to clarify how languages arrange themselves in relation to one another.

First of all, the concepts of "language", "dialect" and "patois" are terms defined by linguists and sociolinguists who do not always agree on definitions. While one would tend to hierarchise language, while going from "language" to "dialect" and finally to "patois", it is important to specify that objectively, it is the other way around. The distinction between a standardized "official language" and other "dialects" and "patois" is not about value. For example, the imposition on the European territories of State mono-lingualism (Niel, 2007) involved a devaluing of the other "languages", i.e. "dialects" and "patois" (Lodge, 1997). However, they are also "languages", as an exclusive instrument of communication, which they represent. They do not refer to a specific community of individuals, which would mean exclusivity; its choice is determined by social use. It depends on membership of a group, the situation of interaction or problems of dominance (Fishman, 1965).

"Languages" thus differ mainly according to their spatial occupation, their social status and relevant social policy. Each language is equipped with a value on the "linguistic market" and thus all non-national languages are different in value: "The construction of a linguistic market creates conditions of an objective competition in and by which legitimate competence can function like linguistic capital producing, at the time of each social exchange, a distinctive advantage…" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 84.)

This is why, within various geopolitical spaces, languages constitute strategic instruments making it possible to hierarchise speakers. Such an approach reveals an essentialisation of the language, which results in a denial of "constitutive heterogeneity" of the language and a compartmentalising in a deterministic manner of societies and cultures (Canut, Duchêne, 2011). In *Ce que parler veut dire (what one says actually means)*, Bourdieu thus showed how "communication reports [...] are reports of symbolic power where the power struggles between the speakers or their respective groups are updated" (1982, p. 14). Certainly, the knowledge of the national language on the territory constitutes a major asset in many spheres of public life. Learning this language and its practice in the family sphere imply, for certain families, an investment in social mobility.

Legitimate language: a plus value for migrants?

The work of many economists (Grin, 1996; Grenier, 2000; Chiswick, 1992; Borjas, 1999) conducted in the United States and Canada from population censuses has helped to assess the knowledge of languages, as questions were asked about their competences. From these data, socio-economic analyses have established that language can be regarded as human capital. In this sense, knowledge of a language is profitable on the job market. Borjas (1999), for example, explains that, it is an economic advantage for immigrants to have English competences because they can have access to employment within their group, as well as outside this group. Thus, bilingual immigrants have better salaries than others. The author, moreover, deplores that in 1990, 37% of these immigrants settled in the United States and yet over about ten years have not gained "very good" control over English. He, moreover, wonders about the weakness of the English linguistic investment of certain immigrants taking into account the "profit" of this investment. Gilles Grenier (2000) partly confirms these results in his study conducted in Quebec and Ontario. He also notes that men speaking a language other than English or French in a family have lower incomes. Nevertheless, the spoken language in a family made up of women does not seem to have incidence on their incomes.

These economic analyses throw light on the benefit offered by the control of language of the home country on the job market and in particular the possibility that it offers to widen opportunities of taking up a job and obtaining a higher income. Taking into account these works, one could ask whether inactive ones transmit their native language more than active ones (Filhon, 2009). Is this because they did not invest sufficiently in the learning of national languages and hence access is only possible for jobs offered by their source linguistic community?

Spoken language and professional activity are in interaction. One can consider that, by learning the language of the host country, one will be more likely to take up a job. But conversely, it is by taking up a job that one can learn how to speak or to speak fluently the language of the host country. Conceiving the learning of a language as a simple personal "investment" denies the crucial role of interactions and means that bilingualism becomes the result of an individual will.

Whatever the language in question, a person conversing in two different linguistic forms not allowing inter-comprehension, will be declared bilingual. "Active" bilingualism is distinguished, which consists in speaking two languages of "passive" bilingualism, when the practice of one of the two languages is not effective and is limited to understanding. In a general manner, the practice and/or the comprehension of at least two linguistic varieties is called multilingualism. For example, in Germany, many Turkish migrant parents will speak spontaneously in Turkish or Kurdish with their children, who understand this language but who answer in German, the language in which they have socialised outside the family sphere. Thus, parents and children do not use the same speech but understand the language of the other as they are accustomed to listening to it. This process of progressive comprehension then of the activation of bilingualism is, without any doubt, a sign of integration.

In this sense, the work of Cummins (2000) reveals that it is advantageous to the child or to the migrant adult to improve their native language in order to facilitate, at a later date, their knowledge of the language of the host country. He perceives in that additive bilingualism, in which learning a second language is done while developing and improving the first, subtractive bilingualism: this means the national language is learnt to the detriment of the native language. In prior research, Cummins (1994) had already shown that additive bilingualism learners succeed more than those who undergo an undermining of their language and their culture by the school or society in general. The learning of a second language is also more or less difficult according to the first language. Thus, geographical distance between countries of departure and arrival and, likewise, the proximity of the graphic or grammatical systems of the two linguistic varieties, will facilitate or not facilitate its acquisition:

> "In terms of motivation, the Q-value of L1, i.e. the native language, and the geographical distance between the origin and receiving contexts are of particular importance; in the context of access to the second language, both previous contact to the L2 in the country of origin, including media contact and language instruction in L2, and, in view of transnational mobility, geographical distance, which hampers L1 access, play an important role. The linguistic distance between L1 and L2 and the cultural distance between the contexts affect the efficiency of language learning and also the costs of L2 acquisition." (Esser, 2006, p. 36).

There is no doubt that teaching a second language in the country of origin has positive consequences on the integration of migrants in the society of immigration. Lastly, Hartmut Esser, in several investigations over the years in Australia, the USA, Israel, Canada and Germany, showed that the acquisition of an official language depended above all on the duration of settlement and the degree of education. The age at migration and the territorial concentration of migrant populations mattered less.

Ultimately, bilingualism or multilingualism is, in fact, an asset in integration in a given society from an identity as well as from an economic point of view. However, countries do not necessarily perceive this capital as a social resource.

Bilingualism, a social resource?

Thus State mono-lingualism is a fact in the vast majority of the European countries. There is also now an enhanced value given to certain types of multilingualism with increasingly early teaching of several foreign languages at school and the professional need to speak some international languages like German, English and Spanish. Only five States in Europe have more than one official national languages: Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, Ireland and Luxembourg. In the last 3 countries, official multilingualism reveals a will to promote undervalued languages, respectively Romansh, Gaelic and Luxemburgish, languages that symbolise the national identity of each of these countries. Yet, beyond official multilingualism daily language use remains monolingual because in Ireland English largely supplants Gaelic and in Finland Finnish is spoken much more than Swedish (Baggioni, 1997). Even in Belgium and Switzerland there is a territorialised mono-lingualism which is often a source of conflicts between linguistic communities.

If some multilingual practices constitute a resource to be developed socially, the tradition of integration within several European countries expressly invites migrants to give up their native languages and to use the "legitimate" language exclusively. In these cases, in fact, the multilingualism of migrants is perceived as a threat to the national unit. Cultural assimilation, then, amounts to linguistic assimilation, which must include the renunciation of the native language.

Thus, seeking to study the acquisition of German by migrants, Hartmut Esser (2006) draws up a direct link between "the mechanisms, social conditions and consequences of the acquisition of the host society's language and the retention or loss of the language of origin. (…) Acquisition and language retention are understood here as the outcome of the interaction of 'immigrant' activities or learning, on the one hand, and certain social conditions, on the other. Learning of a new language depends on four basic factors: motivation (e.g. the prospect of increased income), access (e.g., opportunities for contact

or availability of courses), skills (e.g., general intelligence or particular ability to learn languages) and the costs associated with learning (e.g., time involved, pressure to assimilate)." *(p.3)*

Bilingualism related to immigration is, thus, not perceived as an asset. It is even sometimes regarded as an additional "source of difficulties" (Roselli, 1997), in particular for the most socially deprived populations. Social utility of languages of origin is not recognised in the home country. A proof for this is found in the Bénisti pre-report drafted in France in 2004 by the Prevention commission of the parliamentary Group of study on internal security. There it is written that the multilingualism of foreign parents is pathogenic, a source of cognitive disorders. A bond is even established between multilingualism and the delinquency of the children. A recent investigation thus showed that "the conception of the bi/multilingual pupil is positive only if, on the one hand, the languages are taught/offered by the school (seldom if they are practiced outside, in the family for example) and if, on the other hand, the pupil has good academic performances" (Auger, 2009: 45). The maintenance of a source language would be, in fact, regarded as a brake on the learning of the language of the home country. However, sociolinguists have showed that bilingualism facilitates the acquisition of a new language and increases memory capacities.

There is no single form of bilingual education. For certain countries and certain regions, bilingualism is regarded as a transition, supposing that the native language of the migrants gradually has to disappear. For others, it is important to maintain this bilingualism either by in such a way that there is no loss and that the family practice continues; or by seeking to improve this competence (Baker, 2011).

Guus Extra and Durk Gorter (2001) have shown in their project on the place of minority languages in Europe, that most European countries favour regional languages over immigration languages, in particular at school. As a whole, two principal orientations are considered according to the territories. One possibility is a multicultural perspective, which involves national policies preaching multilingualism as a resource to be developed, and one that is not merely economic. Or conversely, there is an assimilationist's perspective, which supposes that the languages of immigration are a handicap because they potentially harm learning and the use of European language and the acceptance of a new cultural identity nurtured partly by the language. These variations of linguistic policy are not only found between countries but also inside a single national territory, as in Germany, for example, where positioning varies according to the *Länder* in question.

In the countries of departure this ambiguity over multilingualism is also visible. Admittedly some languages constitute considerable plus-values for countries in terms of opening towards the outside and participation in the worldwide economy. They, thus, represent important resources for intervening parties on the job market. But this development of multilingualism is still complex for the young nations of Africa or Eastern Europe. These are, after all, nations which have yet to develop multilingualism and seek to affirm their national identity while promoting a single official language above all others.

Ultimately, bilingualism and bi-literacy are seldom purposes in themselves. Rather, they are the means deployed for: assimilation of migrants in society; unifying a multilingual society; supporting the communication of a country to the outside; entering the job market and allowing social mobility; safeguarding religious and cultural identities of migrants; bringing closer linguistic and political communities; supporting the use of a colonial language; preserving the favoured position of a certain elite or, on the contrary, giving a legal status equivalent to two languages, which in reality do not enjoy the same social recognition. And finally, they help us look further into the understanding and knowledge of a language and a culture (Ferguson, 1977).

4. Language policies

Progressive recognition of multilingualism by the Council of Europe

If multilingualism has increasingly developed within Europe since the end of the twentieth century, languages of immigration are still barely recognised and many negative representations persist. “The challenge to recognise multilingualism resulting from immigration as a wealth in itself and not as an obstacle or at best as a temporary means of integration, exists fully within the societies where speakers of languages of origin are second class citizens - when they are likely to be it - and excluded more or less permanently from the places of power.” (Mc Andrew and Ciceri, 2003).

This progressive recognition of multilingualism was carried out in particular via the Council of Europe in two instances (Beacco and Cherkaoui Messin, 2010):

- At the beginning of the 1990s when the *Charter of regional and minority languages* was proposed with the signature of each European State. Taking into account the diversity of national configurations, 98 articles feed this Convention, which requires that 35 of them are accepted by the signatory country in order for the Convention to be ratified.
- Following this partial recognition of undervalued languages, the Division of language policies of the Council of Europe supported the use of the “multilingualism” term in particular through the *Common European Framework of reference for languages* set up in 2001. The ambition is mainly here to develop and diversify the linguistic repository of each individual.

However, beyond this political will, the primary texts (before translation) submitted by the European Commission, the principal generator of texts of all institutions, is a very eloquent indicator of the concrete evolution of the languages relation in Europe. Whereas in 1986, 58% of the texts were written in French, 26% in English, and 11% in German. In 1999, the rates are respectively 35%, 52% and 5% (Truchot, 2001). One can, without taking too many risks, suppose that this trend was still going strong in the early twenty-first century. Despite an aspiration to develop multilingual practices, English is gradually asserting itself within EU institutions.

Recent national language policies

Language policies set up in the last decades in Europe have sought to support economic development and cultural influences. After all, the policies that prevail are often largely set aside from social practices.

State mono-lingualism was imposed gradually by means of language policies that correspond to two levels of intervention in the management of languages (Boyer, 2010). A first level relates to the language itself and its standardisation, for example, whereas a second level relates to the languages involved, their respective statuses. They become then policies protecting certain languages, ousting other dialects or standards of use.

There exist overall three types of management of the co-presence of languages (Boyer, 2008):

1. A liberal design which consists in accepting the domination of some languages over others with the idea of a competition between languages and linguistic communities. From this point of view, non official intervention is appropriate.
2. A second approach consists in promoting the intervention but not only at the national level. This political management of languages aims at “linguistic ecology” at all levels i.e., the most local level up to the international level.

3. Lastly, a second interventionist approach favours the identity aspect and preaches linguistic nationalism (Hellier, 2002). This is particularly visible for the maintenance of the Catalan in Spain, Hebrew in Israel or French in Quebec.

This last type of management emerges in particular during the creation of a State. These are frequently countries that were colonised in the past and that so are particularly relevant for purpose of studying migration. When they became independent, to dissociate themselves from colonising countries, they imposed another national language, while adopting the European mono-lingual model. This linguistic approach was chosen in Algeria, in Guinea, in India, etc. Some African countries, including Angola have, on the other hand, chosen to maintain the language of the coloniser as an official language, considering Portuguese as a "war trophy". During the proclamation of independences of Angola and Mozambique and Cape Verde, the new governments decided pragmatically that Portuguese would be favoured as the common language and also the language of teaching. Contrary to other forms of nationalism, which took care to eradicate the language of the former colonists, these countries rather regarded this European language as a conquered language, which then became their own. In Algeria, meanwhile, the re-Arabisation of the country and the escape from colonial French corresponds to a wish to break with this cultural imperialism and to forge a new national identity. The population also hoped that this policy of Arabisation would restore equal opportunities. To understand the relationship with the languages of migrants, it is necessary to bear this ambiguity in mind, an ambiguity which is very present in many countries of emigration. We refer here to the will to break with a colonial language, which, at the same time, remains the language of social advancement, i.e. the languages used by the bourgeoisie and prestigious schools.

In a large number of European countries, as noted previously, recent language policies aimed at strengthening the learning of the official language. In parallel, this control over the legitimate language of the host country sometimes became a condition for entry or for obtaining nationality. The relative novelty of these language policies are partly explained by the fact that for many years the governments bet on the return of migrants to their country of origin and attractive policies were thus set up in this direction (Weil, 2004). In the same way as explained by P. Weil, one fears both in France and in the countries of origin that as illiteracy decreases so the political conscience and thus the democratic claims of the country grow.

Thus, for several years now, a number of European countries have deplored migrants who do not learn national languages. This is the case, for example, in Germany as Nicola Tietze (2005) affirms it. In the design of the State-Nation France and Germany have since always posed as opposite models. In France, official construction preceded the development of the nation. French language is, indeed, central in the assimilationist's design, which preaches the idea that it would be only guarantor of a right to equality. In Germany, on the other hand, language constitutes a criterion of collective identity. It is thus a vector determining a belonging to *Kulturnation*. For as much, today, in Germany as in France, the policy of the integration of migrants attaches great significance to the learning of German and French. The contrast with the rules of the 1970s and 1980s when foreigners could not become nationals, is striking. The new laws on immigration in Germany and the 2000 code of nationality associate nationality more with citizenship and consider, more than before, a territorial definition of nationality based mainly on the right of the land. Thus, language in Germany is no longer solely considered a cultural marker. It is also a social marker and German dialect should support equal opportunity.

In such a context, the division of the language policies of the Council of Europe sought to measure national expectations with respect to control over legitimate languages, while comparing, in 2007 and the 2009, the evolution of national linguistic policies. The delegates of the European Committee for migration (representatives of 44 Member States) have thus responded to a questionnaire relating to the linguistic abilities expected in three situations: (A) for entry into the territory; (B) to reside in the

territory; and (C) finally to obtain nationality [2]. Moreover, in order to analyse the language policies, the questionnaires asked specifically about the language courses offered, their contents, their duration, the tests, the penalties in the event of failure etc. 27 countries responded in 2008 and 31 in 2010.

The first results of this investigation (Extramiana and Van Avermaet, 2010) reveal that expectations within the European countries as regards knowledge of languages vary according to the three situations suggested. One country in Europe out of four requires a check on the official language to enter the territory in 2010. More than seven out of ten require it for the granting of permanent residence and finally more than nine countries out of ten make language a criterion for obtaining nationality (table 1).

The second significant result is that for the expectations of all countries strengthened between the two dates and there was also a rise in linguistic trainings suggested. They were 62% in 2008 (six countries out of thirteen made these courses obligatory against 82% in 2010 (eight countries out of nineteen required this training).

Table 1. Countries which demand or do not demand knowledge of the host country language

Language knowledge compulsory in 23 states	Language knowledge not compulsory in 8 states (** = optional language classes)
1. Germany A, B, C 2. Armenia C 3. Austria B, C 4. Denmark A, B, C 5. Estonia B, C 6. Finland A (Russian Ingrians), B 7. France A, B, C 8. Greece B, C 9. Italy B, C?? 10. Lithuania B, C 11. Liechtenstein A, B, C 12. Luxembourg A, B, C 13. Norway B, C 14. Netherlands A, B, C	1. Belgium/Wallonia** 2. Cyprus 3. Spain 4. Hungary** 5. Ireland** 6. Malta 7. Serbia** 8. Sweden**
15. Poland C (repatriation) 16. Czech Republic B, C 17. Slovak Republic C 18. United Kingdom A, B, C 19. San Marino 20. Slovenia B, C 21. Switzerland (cantons) C 22. Turkey C 23. Ukraine C	

Source: Extramiana and Van Avermaet, 2010, p.11.

[2] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/liam/Source/Events/2010/ReportSurvey2011_EN.pdf)

Immigration is now subject to certain conditions and this is especially true in Western Europe. A significant variation exists between the expectations of the countries of Western Europe and those of Eastern Europe. More than four Western European countries out of ten have a requirement of knowledge of the host country language for the entry of migrants: which compares with almost no state in Eastern Europe. Western countries are also twice as likely to give resident permits conditional on language abilities. Acquisition of nationality, however, very often requires knowledge of the national language in the west *and* the east of Europe.

These rules have to be seen in the context of the hardening of the political discourses with regard to immigration. It is for this reason that Europe now has increasingly demanding policies of integration relating to languages, including in particular tests of competence in the language of the host country[3]. Indeed, control over the national language constitutes a favoured indicator to measure the integration of immigrants, as well as others including mixed marriage, number of children, age at marriage etc. This use of the collective indices of integration poses questions. The first limit relates to the atomisation of a process of adjustment reduced to a plurality of criteria perceived as independent of each other. This "analytical deconstruction" makes it possible to reveal the plurality of situations, but denies the articulation of these indicators among themselves (De Rudder, 1994). Through the analysis of the various migratory profiles, the relative interdependence between the place of life, sociability and the spoken languages was clearly shown. The use of such indicators is, thus, tautological and does help us in understanding the phenomenon.

5. Linguistic education

This recent evolution encourages many European countries to set up linguistic training programs whose duration varies strongly from one State to the next: there are also differences in terms of its status (compulsory or not),, its content, and its cost (if the service is not free). Very often, these training programs are strongly linked to a community project and thus relate to a special learner profile. Criteria related to migrants are taken into account to direct these training programs but these are limited and the programs are thus little diversified:

- Taking into account academic luggage in certain countries like Germany or Denmark.
- Elimination or not of illiteracy of the populations (France, Luxembourg etc.)
- Lifetime on the territory (Netherlands)
- Speed of progression of the learners (the United Kingdom), which can also result in financial penalties.

However, these criteria result in the need to determine the duration of any program and the teaching orientations are not much varied.

One of the key questions to reflect upon is the place of countries of origin in the maintenance of native languages, but also in training programs for European languages. In this way there will be a better understanding of which institutions play a significant role and any potential actions.

Linguistic training of migrant potential in the country of origin

In the countries of origin, the most important institution is the school. It is, indeed, the principal place where European languages are learnt. The school is also a decisive body insofar as the higher the level of studies, the easier it is for migrants to learn the language of the host country even if they are not educated

[3] ECRI recognises that speaking the host country's language is essential for a successful integration process. However, procedures such as using linguistic tests prior to immigration, especially for family reunification, as an indirect tool of restricting immigration are, in ECRI's view, counterproductive. Par. 14, ECRI's Annual Report 2010.

academically there. Moreover, the statutory value of language is partly related to the social image of speakers. As a result, the higher the number of graduate migrants arriving in a given host country, the higher their native language will rise in the hierarchy of languages.

Currently, host country educational establishments do not, in many nations, have the sufficient backing yet to set up reforms for improving the capacities of hosting and the training programs (Adami, 2007). Certain territories also lack financial means. In formerly colonized countries there is also the question of the language of teaching, which is not necessarily the language spoken by the majority of pupils. If the share of graduate migrants continues to increase, the rates of illiteracy in certain countries of emigration remain relatively important. This, of course, complicates second language learning. Indeed, it initially seems preferable to continue the learning of the first language, and pedagogy, which is seldom set up concretely after migration.

For students who can benefit from language learning at the secondary and tertiary level, their language training is nonetheless partial.. There is a particularly strong break between linguistic expectations at the primary/ secondary and the tertiary level. For example, in Morocco, the university language of communication is mainly French, whereas students are not prepared for French (except the minority in the most favoured social classes where schooling and home life is in French). Admittedly pupils take French courses as of the third year of primary school, for about eight hours a week. This continues up the educational scale to high school, though with gradually fewer hours. But, despite this training in French, an important hiatus exists between university expectations and the benefits of secondary education (Belhaj and Lepez, 2009).

Educational reforms in many countries have the disadvantage, in Europe as elsewhere, of not giving linguistic continuity. Moreover, one observes an ineffective hourly over-investment, which demands a change in teaching practices. In particular, many sociolinguists now preach communicative and action-based approaches, which presuppose real life experiences. This approach implies developing the language as an instrument of communication, giving up, thereby, learning based on the translation of texts or the reading of literary works. Several international devices have thus been proposed since the end of 1990, meaning remote access: take, for example, the Cultura project (http://cultura.mit.edu) where it is possible to learn a foreign language via intercultural exchanges and multi-media support.

In Europe, implemented actions mainly relate to the linguistic training of migrant adults or migrant children or result from immigration.

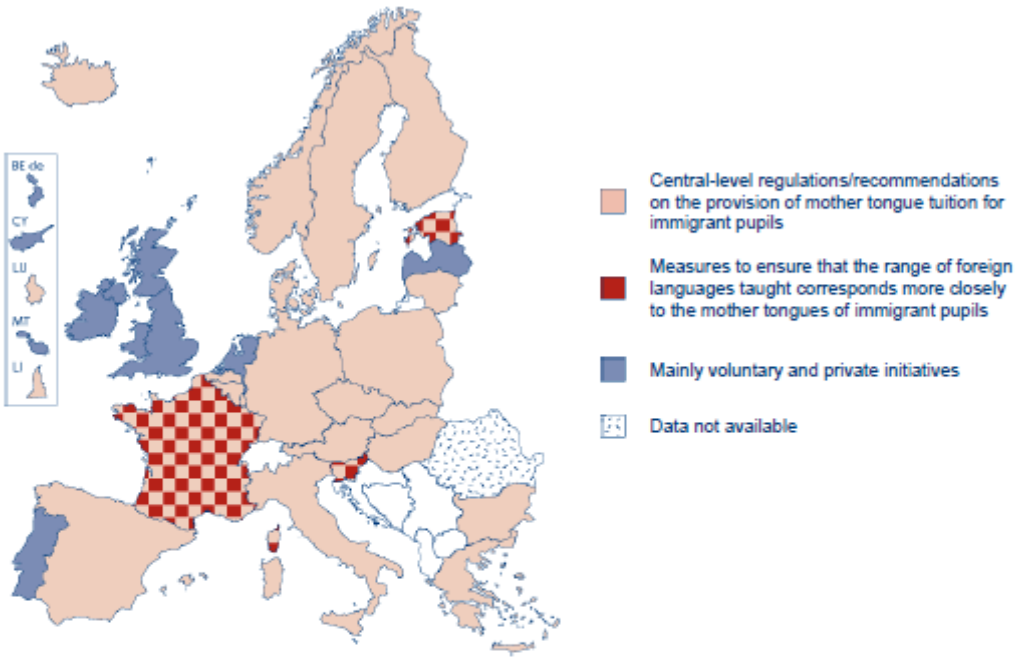
Training of children in the country of arrival

In the migratory context, several country-of-origin actors play a significant role. One example is Language and Culture Teaching (ELCO) courses. This lesson is not carried out in all European countries (see figure 2.1). Most host countries have recommendations or regulations in favour of teaching the language of origin to children. But some countries, including the United Kingdom and Portugal, make the case that these courses should be private not state-run. In some rare countries like Latvia or Lithuania, immigrant pupils can continue their schooling in their first language. Thus, pupils coming from Poland, Estonia, Belorussia and especially Russia can be educated in one of these languages. These language policies are an answer to the end of the Soviet empire. It should also be said that if there are bilingual lessons in primary education, the objective of the Latvian government is gradual linguistic assimilation with a final exclusive use of Latvian.

Teaching in migrant languages was also established with the objective of a possible return to the country of origin and in order to keep migrants in contact with the country of departure. Today, in Europe as in emigration countries the authorities are aware that these populations are settling permanently. So depending on the countries, some especially will favour learning the national language, whereas others consider this native language a potential resource. In the countries of

departure, the return of migrants is not always wanted insofar as these families often represent a significant income source abroad. Sending countries want their migrants to stay in touch with their homelands and to visit and to send funds back.

Figure 2.1: Educational measures for teaching the language of origin of immigrant pupils, general education (ISCED 1-3), 2007/08



Source: Eurydice.

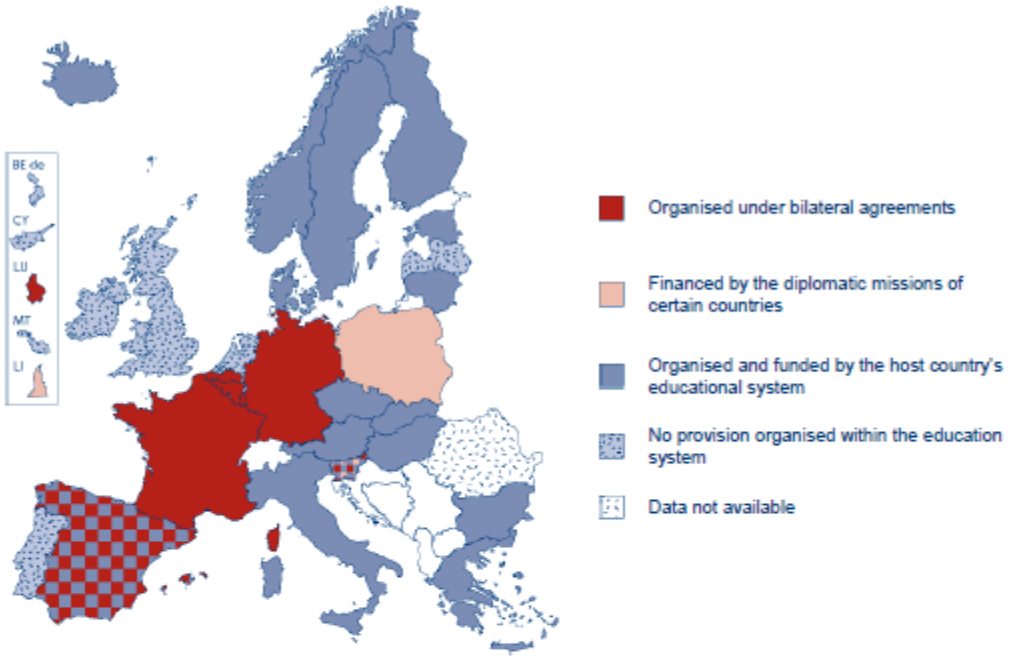
Additional notes

Germany: The regulations concerning the provision of mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils are passed at *Länder* level.
Latvia: Immigrant pupils can follow school programmes in minority languages that are offered for the national ethnic minority populations.
United Kingdom (ENG/WLS): Schools have always been able to offer languages spoken by their pupils within the modern foreign languages curriculum, if they so wish. From 2008/09, there are revisions to the curriculum intended to make it easier for them to do so.
United Kingdom (SCT): A number of schools are offering classes in Polish language and culture.

Explanatory note

Clarification of the levels of education covered by the national regulations and recommendations on the provision of mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils can be found in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.2: Provision of mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils, general education (ISCED 1-3), 2007/08



Source: Eurydice.

Additional notes

Belgium (BE fr): In 2007/08, mother tongue tuition was available at ISCED levels 1 and 2. In September 2008, a partnership was agreed with Portugal and Romania that extends cover to ISCED level 3.
Belgium (BE nl): The teaching of languages and cultures of origin is restricted to ISCED level 1.
Bulgaria: In 2007/08 the regulatory framework of mother tongue tuition has been in the process of definition, however schools have not yet implemented such provision so far.
Denmark, Slovenia, Liechtenstein and **Norway**: The regulations/recommendations on the provision of mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils cover ISCED levels 1 and 2.
Germany: Bilateral agreements for the provision of mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils are concluded at *Länder* level.
Latvia: The possibility of immigrant pupils learning their mother tongue is provided for in the minority language programmes established for national ethnic minorities.
Hungary: If schools do not have sufficient material and human resources to organise mother tongue tuition themselves, the Ministry of Education recommends seeking advice and assistance from the diplomatic mission of the relevant country.
Poland: Persons who are not Polish citizens and are subject to compulsory schooling can follow classes in the language of their country of origin that are organised by the diplomatic, consular or cultural association of their country of origin at the school premises. Such classes are organised outside the regular timetable and require consent given by the school head and the local educational authorities.
Slovenia: Mother tongue tuition in the language of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is provided under the legislation of the FYR of Macedonia. The latter country provides funds for teachers, while Slovenia provides premises.
Liechtenstein: The government gives the possibility and the framework within which to organise tuition in mother tongue and history of the country of origin. It is up to embassies, consulates or cultural interest groups (e.g. Turkish cultural association) to organise and pay for these courses. Regarding the smallness of Liechtenstein, this may be embassies, consulates or cultural groups in the neighbouring areas of Switzerland and Austria. Such courses are organised outside the regular timetable.

However, this assumption of responsibility by the consulates can lead to the perpetuation of discrimination particularly with respect to populations that are discriminated against before their departure: for example, Kurdish migrants. Indeed, it is very largely the national language that is proposed and financed during bilateral agreements. Thus, the bond between language and country of origin is complex and not very obvious and the recognition of certain languages is still problematic in a migration context.

ELCO can be organised during school hours and can, thus, replace other lessons; it can also be planned after class and, in this case, depending on the relevant country, the courses proceed in the school buildings or outside[4]. In the first case, the problem is that pupils do not benefit from the same lessons as their friends and parents fear that the academic success of their children is at stake. There is also the fact that migrant students are marked by these experiences as a group apart. These courses

[4] In Belgium, different courses are not organised by the Belgian authorities as in France. Whether they are varied or integrated, the ELCO teachings are coordinated by the educational system.

take place during early learning; activities often appreciated by pupils which makes ELCO a less positive model. In the second case the problem relates to an addition of working time and leads concretely to a strong absentee rate. Moreover, according to a report on the integration of immigrants in Europe through schools and multilingual teaching, drafted in 2005 by Miguel Portas, there are other problems: courses outside the normal school timetable lead to stigmatisation.

Ultimately, it appears that the place granted to immigration languages and to players from sending countries is not always correlated with a lesser or greater proportion of migrants on the territory. Indeed, countries like Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, which are old territories of immigration, do not adopt the same strategies (Eurydice, 2009). The first four countries favoured bilateral agreements and today try to establish links between the teaching of these languages of origin and foreign school languages. In the Netherlands, the languages of origin, are no longer taught so that foreign languages are exclusively dispensed to pupils. Lastly, the United Kingdom never proposed LCO teaching but is currently considering diversification in terms of foreign language courses. Obviously, in these immigration countries, the diversification of migratory flows complicates the implementation of these courses. Do the taught languages have to be only international languages?

In addition to school learning, there are private initiatives taken by embassies, diplomatic missions or other players. These cannot be considered here because they are too scattered and heterogeneous depending on individual countries. In particular, associative schools are independent of countries of origin. They develop native languages to a greater extent and allow “immersive” teaching, which supposes intensive learning, sometimes almost-exclusive of the source language.

There are also Institutes. These often mix linguistic and religious teaching. Places of worship, indeed, offer in many countries the opportunity of learning the native language. For example, in France, the Ghazâli institute trains imams and teaches Arabic (http://www.institut-al-ghazali.fr/). It largely relies on handbooks imported from countries of origin, which distributed by the consulates.

The example of Arabic teaching in Europe

Works on immigration tend to focus on the country of arrival rather than the country of origin. However, a work published in 1998 looks at the country of arrival since it studies the place of Arabic and its teaching to Moroccan migrants in five European countries (France, Belgium, Germany, Belgium and Spain). This work titled *Morocco in the Heart of Europe* carried out by the scientific department of Hermann Obdeijn and Jan Jaap de Ruiter shows convergences and divergences between countries in the ELCO. This is true for students admitted to pursue courses, as well as for Moroccan teachers trained in Morocco and selected by the Moroccan Ministry of State Education or in Europe via the Embassies and even for the Netherlands by the Municipalities.

In France, the teaching of foreign languages and the use of foreign monitors have been suggested since the mid 1920s. These courses are envisaged in elementary schools after class hours. However, these courses “concern particularly initiatives of embassies and consulates representing the countries of migration” (P. Masthoff, 1998)

In 1975, a circular specified that these lessons be introduced without obligation in schools preferably during or after school for three non-consecutive hours a week. Thereafter they are offered in college and high school as optional lessons. In parallel, France has signed bilateral agreements with Portugal, Italy, Tunisia, Spain, Morocco,the ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey and in 1981 with Algeria. Likewise, as from the 1970s, when family reunification began, the Ministry of National Education instituted French lessons for non-French-speaking migrant children. These new provisions in favour of learning native languages and French attest a growing political understanding that migration is permanent.

In France the most taught foreign languages remain English, German and Spanish, even if there is an important Arabic-speaking community in the country. Since the 1990s a strong decrease has been

noted in the enrolment of students wishing to learn Arabic. Moreover, of the push for foreign language learning at an earlier and earlier age (particularly in the case of English) tends to weaken the ELCO, which are seen as competing in France by the Early Teaching of living languages (EPLV). Living languages are dispensed by French teachers and thus learning of English even regional languages is what matters.

In a report written in 1985 for the Minister for State education J. Berque then suggested that one should no longer speak of origins but rather of contribution. All children and not only migrants should be given the opportunity to study the plurality of world civilisations through Languages and Cultures.

Teachers who dispense LCO courses in France were trained in their country of origin. They are selected by the authorities of this country even if then they are supervised under the administrations of a host country. These teachers on a temporary assignment did not receive specific teacher training to teach migrant children or second-generation migrant children and it was difficult to find their niche in the French education system. They are often isolated and not particularly integrated in pedagogical teams.

Broadly this isolation experienced by ELCO teachers is found in all countries examined. The setting up of these structures often, meanwhile, comes late as in the Netherlands, where it was necessary to wait for the law on primary education of 1985 (Richters, 1998). These courses were, earlier organized only outside the school framework and were regarded as “return teaching”. Thereafter, they were integrated in the school program but the schools were not obliged to set them up. If they set them up, they were to coordinate the program, the didactics, and the recruitment of teachers, who were remunerated by the Dutch authorities.

In several European countries, LCO lessons were planned as a remedy for the school difficulties of immigrant children after being convinced of the reason for return. Gradually however, many countries will recognize the importance of this kind of teaching and make it possible for children to learn not only the official language of the country of departure but also native languages. In the Netherlands, one can now also learn the language and culture of the country of origin thanks to religious schools, though there are very few on the territory.

Several European countries have experienced a certain shift in the expectations of various players. Parents want their origins to be transmitted to their children, especially religious values. On their part, the school and the pedagogical team often do not know much about ELCO interveners and their culture. They consider ELCO staff as a mediator between the school and the parents and thus wish that these people explain to families how the school system works, which means, of course, that these interveners know it inside out. Lastly, teachers of ELCO ardently wish to initiate pupils in their origin cultures without religious dimensions. They are isolated from the entire pedagogical team not least because they often work in several schools and have heavy administrative tasks. Their low recognition and their low level of involvement is due to the fact that in most countries they do not receive the same remuneration as their colleagues.

These teachers must thus know the national language of the host country well and also know the history of this country, and its school operation. This requires that they already reside in the host country during their recruitment. Some countries like Belgium even wish to support the recruitment of immigrant graduate children (Masthoff, 1998)

Training of adults in Europe

The language of the host country has unquestionably a strong statutory value and is often necessary for entering the job market. However, this bond established between the language learning and job access sets aside a part of the population and in particular mothers who do not have vocational plans and do not know that they can benefit from a linguistic training or are not motivated to do so. Indeed, when the linguistic community is largely established in a district or a city, migrants can easily find intermediaries, associations likely to help them with their administrative problems, for example. As such they may not

feel the need to learn the national language. In this case, the linguistic community, and the district constitute “protective enclaves”, which can become “captive spaces over the years” (Simon, 1998). For other women on the other hand, who are more isolated, their weak networks and their ignorance of the host country makes them unaware of associative structures and linguistic training programs. Thus, it is important to motivate these women and so that they can benefit from learning irrespective of their plans as soon as they arrive. An important motivation is the follow-up schooling of their children. This involvement of parents in the academic success of their children happens through regular exchanges between teachers and families. These initially require interpreters and the translation of rules of procedure etc. Many but not all countries give themselves this opportunity. Indeed, this encouragement to pursue duties, to weave more bonds with the educational establishment encourages mothers in particular to begin or to continue their learning of the language of the host country.

Obviously, people who were exposed to the language of the country of arrival before their migration will be more comfortable using this language in communication and will have more facilities to continue this learning (Leconte, 1997).

Migration towards Europe being diverse, the needs of migrant adults are very heterogeneous. Three principal profile-types are found:

1. Migrants who in Europe long ago, but who were not educated well in their country and thus have difficulty in writing even if they have a certain oral knowledge of the language of the host country. They are in particular sometimes old women who come from old European colonies.
2. More recent migrants, sometimes well educated, able to read and write, having perfect command over writing of their language of origin but not having any knowledge of the language of the host country. This is the case, for example, with young graduate men or women of higher education from Asia.
3. Finally, a third profile concerns those who can hardly read or write (if at all) and who do not know the language of the immigration country.

To these a fourth profile should be added, one which is more and more coveted by the host countries. They are strong graduate migrants not needing any linguistic training. These candidates with international English or to a lesser extent French thus became the standard in countries like Canada.

This diversity of profiles poses, as noted previously problems in the host countries in the type of training to be proposed and the pedagogy to be adopted. Another difficulty relates to this diversity of languages. Indeed, learning requires from trainers some knowledge of the language of the migrant, which is not always possible. The linguistic identity of the individual is, thus, often denied which undermines learning and does not motivate the migrant, who is not, then, recognized socially. In the 1970s and 1980s Quebec supported the use of native languages in the courses of the elimination of illiteracy among migrants (Gsir, 2006)

To fill this void, some countries developed a portfolio of languages (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/default_fr.asp) as an additional tool of learning that aims at reinforcing intercultural competences, autonomy of learning and that relies on various experiences of each migrant.

6. Language: a history of family

To grasp better the link in migrant languages, I conducted my research in Metropolitan France with families from North Africa (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia). I could, therefore, understand their motivations to learn French but also their wish to pass on (or not to pass on) their native language, Arabic or Berber, to their children.

The maintenance of Arab and Berber for the next generation is explained first of all by the French competences of parents. Since they manage this language easily, it becomes difficult for them not to use it with their children. Moreover, when one of the two couples is not a native of Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia and was not socialised in Arabic or Berber, it is less likely that a single parent will pass on the language and more than half of them state that they speak only French with their children.

In addition, one cannot fully grasp this process without also taking into account the receiver, namely the child: the process begins but does not end with the parent. Socialized only in French in all social universes that they frequent, the use of Arabic or Berber by their parents does not enable them to activate this asset, in particular when it is transmitted in partnership with French. Most children understand the parental language but do not speak it. This "passive" bilingualism can, however, evolve, for example, through more or less regular returns to the country of their parents, close friends or of their future spouse.

The use of Arab and Berber languages in the family sphere does not arise from a rational decision taken at a moment, to pass or not to pass on this asset. They are primarily, as a matter of course, practices, which cannot be perceived as strategies. For at various moments (entry of children in school, return to the country, and discussion with colleagues…) parents have to justify their linguistic decisions.

The desire to transmit a parental language can be related to anticipation about the future of the children. But they testify especially to an attachment to the past, a concern to continue family memory through in particular, maintenance of the parental language as well as other practical cultural and religious values. Arabic was sometimes mentioned as a resource, which can be mobilised professionally by children, or more usually as linguistic "wealth", which can be developed during voyages. In the same anticipatory intention, parents spoke Arabic or Berber with their children because they had planned to quickly leave France, believing they were only temporarily settled there. However, most of them in fact never set out again. Even when in 1977, political measures were taken "to support" the returns by a financial support or by vocational training, few native migrants of Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia were interested in this (Lebon, 1979). The transmission of Arabic or Berber thus could be done in view of a possible return, but very often parents became gradually aware that the future of their children would be in France.

Without necessarily considering a final return, seasonal journeys home allow parents and children to have a strong bond with the remainder of the family and to constitute a motivation to transmit their native language. Thus, among the important players who maintain the language of origin, family is important. These regular returns during summer are an occasion, for children, to imbibe for a month or two, Arabic or Berber. If communications between parents and their children are the main source of initiation to the parental language, the extended stay in the country of origin of the parents is undoubtedly the second principal transmission channel. Indeed, when children find themselves in the presence of people who do not speak French, they have to manage communicating with them. The frequency of returns to the homeland is a significant factor in supporting learning.

In the countries where they have settled, language is often used as substitute in the territory and to the loved ones left behind. The maintenance of this native language, as well as other cultural elements, is expressed by migrants as a certain "linguistic honesty" (Weinreich; 1970). But this honesty is not necessarily a nationalist act, it is above all a duty to remember, a wish not to forget the place they come from. Obviously, this maintenance of a sense of origins varies according to the country of emigration, the bonds preserved with it, the existing past between this country of birth and the host country etc

Conclusion

The place of languages, their status and their social recognition within the countries of departure and that of arrival is related to each national history and is understood in comparison with the space made for immigrants in each host country. It is important that schooling of young girls and boys continues in the

countries of emigration because it is a deciding factor in supporting transnational mobility. It is also necessary that host countries develop knowledge of migrants, their courses, which participates largely in a sustainable enrolment of these populations in to the territory. Social recognition is without any doubt a crucial factor in integrating parents and children into society.

How to increase a positive perception of migrant languages?

If one wishes to develop the languages of origin, several suggestions can be offered. First of all, it is advisable not to limit learning in these languages to migrants or children of migrants from these countries. Migrant languages must be proposed to all without distinction. Indeed, this would limit the hierarchy structure between various linguistic varieties, some being regarded as minority even useless compared to others like, say, English. To propose the learning of all languages of immigration is to fully take into account the intercultural aspect; to recognize their socio-professional benefit but also to accept the fact that they constitute sources of personal enrichment. Today, in as much as in Europe these languages are typically only taught to migrant children or children of migrants, they are perceived as useless (Sgir, 2006). It matters that this linguistic diversity, often present at elementary school, can continue at secondary and tertiary level, which is seldom the case in Europe where minority languages are sometimes developed at the start of schooling but quickly replaced by "major" international languages starting from the secondary level.

In certain countries like Canada, it seems that languages of immigration are devalued socially compared to most European countries. This difference is partly due to the fact that migrants are "selected" before their entry into the territory and thus socio-economic partitions between migrants and non migrants are weak. I do not intend to preach here customised immigration. Rather, I want to insist on the need for pursuing the process of making education available to everyone in the countries of origin, for men and the women. I also want to support the social mobility of these migrants in Europe by strengthening access to continuing education, evening course in companies, etc.

What kind of multilingual training?

Multilingual learning should be developed in the countries of origin and as early as possible. Before and after migration, teacher training and quality of the school handbooks should be improved. Training of adults in a migratory context would benefit in taking into account the heterogeneity of profiles and projects. One of the solutions for not de-legitimising the language of origin consists in learning a new language, which still requires certain additional competences from teachers.

Likewise, for the younger generations, it seems that the lessons in languages of origin are problematic. Rather than isolating certain populations by accentuating their differences, this learning of multilingualism must be possible for all, irrespective of their origins. The countries of emigration could thus be requested in terms of multiple exchanges between school children and between countries. These twinnings between linguistic cities or exchanges are mainly internal European affairs for economic reasons. But beyond linguistic voyages, one can also consider these exchanges via the new technical means of remote communication. These cooperative projects suggested by Miguel Siguan (2007) would, at the same time, make it possible to develop certain languages and cultures of immigration. But they would also reinforce in the countries of origin the knowledge of European languages and in particular their communicative dimension. They would be the occasion to conceive international pedagogies avoiding shifts between country of departure and country of arrival.

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